

From Old Rooty Hill to Barangaroo

Landscape preservation as urban heritage in Sydney

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Campaigns to preserve the legacy of the past in Australian cities have been particularly focused on the protection of natural landscapes and public open space. From threats to Perth's Kings Park and Sydney's headlands to current proposals such as Barangaroo and the Perth waterfront, heritage activists have viewed the protection and restoration of "natural" vistas and landscapes as a vital part of the effort to preserve the historic identity of urban places. The protection of such scenic landscape elements has been a vital aspect of establishing a positive conception of the environment as a source of both urban and national identity. Drawing on the records of the National Trust of Australia (NSW) this paper unpacks the cultural and historical assumptions that motivated place protection in Sydney across the twentieth century. It also examines the ways in which those traditions have informed the debate surrounding Sydney's highly contested Barangaroo development in the twenty first century.

Keywords: Landscape, Heritage, History, Sydney

Introduction

Urban historians have long been aware of the shortcomings of trying to understand cities in isolation from the landscapes they inhabit and transform. William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis* (1991) – a book about Chicago and its vast western hinterland – is perhaps the best example of an urban history that is at the same time an environmental history of a region. In Australia Andrea Gaynor's (2006) work has similarly refused simple categorisation as urban or environmental history. Writing the history of heritage and conservation as an aspect of urban history and planning history demands a similar commitment to undermining the settlement/wilderness, nature/culture divide. In the North American context Daniel Bluestone (2011) has argued that the familiar origin story of historic preservation – the protection of George Washington's home by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association – and the origin of wilderness protection – the creation of Yellowstone National Park – should be considered together. Both efforts, he argues, "aimed to protect valued resources from

the unfettered and often destructive prerogatives of a market economy... and both movements claimed that social refinement, cultivation and enjoyment” would result from the protection of these singular places (p104). Bluestone’s own account of the effort to save the “scenic landscapes” of the Hudson River Palisades is richly illustrative of the intertwined histories of city and nature in New York and New Jersey (pp104-131). To even begin to do the same for Australian cities and their settings demands that we understand something of the institutions and individuals who initiated and shaped place protection efforts in Australia. Using the archives of the NSW National Trust, especially the documents connected with its founding and early decades, this paper attempts to resituate our understanding of place protection in Australia by highlighting the importance of the “scenic landscape” to efforts to establish urban place identity and foster national belonging.

The task of building a comprehensive historical picture of place protection in Australia has been made easier by some interesting work that has been published since the year 2000. In his book *Colonial Earth* (2000), for example, Tim Bonyhady has argued that many Australian colonists in the nineteenth century were strongly attached to the Australian landscape. This view is in contrast to the historical clichés that have depicted European settlers as universally afraid of and hostile to the distinctiveness of the Australian landscape and careless of their physical surrounds generally. Moreover a desire to “protect and preserve” parts of that landscape was quite evident, he argues, and most of the places that were treasured were “within easy access of the cities” (p314). Indeed, Bonyhady argues that “preservation of Sydney Harbour’s beauty” was part of “a local tradition in which the encouragement of culture and protection of the environment were all of a piece” (p314).

The story of how such affection and care for Australian places evolved into an institutional apparatus has been taken up recently by Andrea Witcomb and Kate Gregory. Their history of the National Trust in Western Australia (2010) is attentive to the full range of activities that motivated Trust founders and members in that state and highlights the shortcomings of the existing literature on heritage and conservation in Australia. Witcomb and Gregory view the activities of the Trust as a wide-ranging effort to foster urban and regional place identity by protecting wild flowers, visual perspectives and parkland as well as significant historic buildings. “Embedded in the Trust’s early understanding of landscapes” they argue, “was a sense that they, just as much as buildings, were redolent of the evidence of the past and offered a connection to it” (p80). Protecting the existing course and expanse of the Swan River was just as important to early Trust activists in WA as the very well-known effort to save the Barracks at the end of St. George’s Terrace. The concerns of the National Trust’s founders in NSW, were similarly expansive. The landscape of the city and its surrounds was seen as integral to Sydney’s distinctive identity, and so the protection of parts of that landscape was viewed as absolutely essential to the Trust’s mission.

Rooty Hill and the Origins of the National Trust of Australia (NSW)

Most Australians are unaccustomed to imagining the Sydney suburb of Rooty Hill in the time before the Returned Service League (RSL) Club dominated its landscape. Today we are encouraged to view Rooty Hill as a kind of representative “Middletown” with the RSL as its central institution. Alongside the regular Elvis tribute shows and other cabaret acts this very large, poker machine-stuffed venue has, in recent years, regularly hosted televised national political forums where ordinary Australians address their concerns to national leaders. But there is a Rooty Hill landscape buried beneath the RSL that makes it an exemplary place in a very different way. The history of heritage and

conservation in Australia is steeped in the experiences of a largely forgotten Rooty Hill. It was the place where Annie Wyatt, one of the founders of the National Trust of Australia (NSW), grew up and the district was a source of inspiration for her pastoral evocation of the Sydney region in an earlier phase of its settlement. In 1956 she wrote a short memoir that described the area during her childhood in the 1890s:

I wish I could give you a glimpse of how lovely Rooty Hill was then; most of it was heavily timbered, yet large sections set out in orchards, vineyards and grazing land. The soil was deep and rich and all things grew to perfection. There were paddocks waving knee-high in bluebells and buttercups, and one which seemed to specialise in orchids, pink and yellow. Mother saw to it that the cows be kept out of those places many weeks before the flowers were due. After rain the low lands were white with mushrooms, as large as bread and butter plates – one never sees the like of them now-a-days.¹

It was not only the steady loss of Sydney's Edenic hinterland to urbanisation that motivated Wyatt in her activism, which began in earnest in the 1920s. The loss of some of the city's most recognisable early colonial buildings in the interwar years such as the Commissariat Stores in Circular Quay and Burdekin House in Macquarie Street also caused her "to lie awake and wonder desperately what could be done about the destruction".²

Wyatt's memoir makes quite clear that in enacting her place-centred citizenship she gave equal weight to protecting places of natural or scenic beauty and buildings of historical or architectural significance. This dual mission was imprinted in the National Trust of Australia (NSW) from its very early years. The group who came together with Wyatt to found an Australian version of the Trust first seriously considered the idea of forming the Trust at a "Save the Trees – Conserve our Forests" conference in 1944.³ For most of that group, therefore, the protection of flora and fauna had been the main factor motivating their civic engagement prior to their involvement in the Trust and would be intrinsic to their activities as Trust founders and members.

In 1948, less than twelve months after it was formally constituted, the Trust offered support and encouragement to the Mosman Council in its efforts to purchase Chinaman's Beach at Middle Harbour so as to protect "one of the few remaining beaches with unbuilt background in Sydney Harbour."⁴ Equally, however, it is evident that during the late 1940s that protecting a group of "Macquarie buildings" - the Hyde Park Barracks, St. James Church, and the Government House Stables, among others – was a very high priority.⁵ The founding group drew a distinction between natural beauty and historic buildings but they did not necessarily privilege one over the other. The motto they adopted when they formalised the group in 1947 was "For the preservation of historic buildings and natural beauty." Moreover, in the vision of Annie Wyatt the farms of Rooty Hill, the banks of the Hawkesbury River and the busy harbour and mellow old buildings at Circular Quay were a continuous landscape. In her romantic vision of the region, Sydney's historical and geographical identities were one and the same and therefore the protection of the city implied wide-ranging efforts that went beyond individual buildings or properties.

In recent decades the steady professionalization and specialisation of heritage assessment, heritage management and architectural conservation, the gradual extension of government powers to regulate land use, and the continued rise of environmentalism as a separate sphere of political

activity has had the effect of splitting place protection into two distinct terrains: nature conservation and heritage conservation. Each has its own subsets of specialised knowledge and skills, their own set of civic organisations and their own legislative apparatus. Consequently the earlier continuity between building conservation and place protection more widely has been obscured. We tend to forget that the impulse to keep places – as a way of enriching memory and promoting certain place-based identities – was shared by those who wanted to protect the natural environment and its scenic places from desecration and those who wanted to keep and repair old buildings.

To the extent that the shared terrain of nature conservation and heritage conservation has been recognised by researchers in this field it has mostly been in the context of discussions of the policy innovations of the National Estate programmes or the BLF-initiated Green Bans (NSW) and Black Bans (Vic) from the 1970s (Yencken, 2001; Burgmann & Burgmann, 1998). But there is a continuous tradition of place protection that stretches back to the efforts in the 1890s described by Bonyhady through the reform-oriented groups of the early twentieth century and on to the National Trusts and the widening efforts of government and civil society in the 1970s and beyond.

In the 1890s the effort to protect Sydney Harbour from being despoiled by industrial development – especially by the proposed colliery at Cremorne – became a major public issue and, as Bonyhady (2000) has noted, the issue was explicitly linked to issues of cultural heritage and national identity. The future parliamentarian A.B. Piddington remarked at that time that “We in Sydney are the trustees for all Australia and of all time of that national heritage of beauty which gives us our pride of place amongst the capitals of this continent” (p314). This same note of national feeling and pride in the Sydney region’s natural gifts motivated Annie Wyatt and her neighbours to form the Ku-ring-gai Tree Lovers’ Civic League in 1927. The aim of that group was to “foster the love of our own Australian trees, as being peculiar to our land, and likely to thrive best in its soil and climate.”⁶ The League’s activities included a significant 1931 project to work with the North Sydney Council to protect and restore the landscape at Ball’s Head on Sydney Harbour.

When Wyatt and like-minded protectors of the local environment came together in the 1940s to form the National Trust they quickly attracted significant interest from a range of existing civic groups. Prominent among them were the local historical societies but equally notable were the progressive planning groups and conservation-oriented societies. The Parks and Playgrounds Movement of NSW was one of those and, like the Tree Lovers’ League, was engaged in lobbying local government to maintain and restore coastal landscapes, such as the Kurnell Peninsula on Botany Bay. Others that affiliated with the National Trust in 1948 were the Rangers’ League of NSW, the Wildlife Preservation Society and the New Education Fellowship, a group that advocated for progressive or child-centred principles in education.⁷ This range of groups gave the National Trust its wide scope and left a powerful mark on the organisation. From our perspective today these affiliations and the culture of the Trust in its early years are a strong reminder of the links to older traditions of civic and urban reform as well as of its overt connections to nature conservation.

The evolution of the Trust in NSW in the 1950s has tended to colour perceptions of the organisation and obscure to some extent its origins and breadth of interests. In that decade the effort to create a register of historic buildings based on the advice of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA) and the labours of architect and historian Morton Herman was the most prominent aspect of its activities.⁸ But the promotion of a National Parks act for NSW, the reserving of municipal land for

public use and the promotion of other planning tools and public powers to prevent the destruction of places of natural beauty all remained firmly on the National Trust agenda into the 1960s. During the Sixties lectures on fauna conservation, articles on the establishment of National Parks and reviews of books about a wide range of environmental concerns were a staple of National Trust bulletins. Rachel Carson's landmark book *Silent Spring* (1962) was given an extensive and favourable review in a 1963 bulletin and concern about the fate of bushland on Bradley's Head on the north shore of Sydney Harbour was a front page story for the Trust in May 1964.⁹ In other words, nature conservation and the wider realm of environmental protection both remained in the forefront of Trust activity even as architects took on growing prominence in the organisation.

Australian Outrage

A perennial complaint of non-architect heritage specialists in Australia has been that architects and canons of architectural taste have exercised too much influence on registers of historic places. Certainly this is borne out by the early years of the National Trust in Victoria where Roy Simpson, Robin Boyd and John and Phyllis Murphy all exercised considerable influence (Clark, 1996). However, while heritage conservation was guided by prevailing canons of architectural and cultural taste in that period, the most significant contribution of architects to the heritage discussion nationally was not related to the finer points of formal criticism and questions of stylistic development. Their most significant interventions were motivated by a broad-based environmentalism.

In their writing and activism architects Robin Boyd (1960), Donald Gazzard (1966) and Miles Dunphy drew explicitly on the work of North American and British commentators Peter Blake (1964), Ian Nairn (1955) and Gordon Cullen (1961) in criticising the visual environment of cities and their surrounds. Each of those influential critics addressed the public realm of streets and squares, highways and recreation reserves as total living environments. They also criticised the planning failures and the visual blight that characterised what Nairn called 'subtopia', the landscape shaped and organised around pervasive automobility. In 1964 Sydney based architect-planner Gazzard attempted to synthesize these concerns in an exhibition staged by the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (NSW). The exhibition had the title 'Australian Outrage' – which referred directly to a 1955 special issue of the British journal the *Architectural Review* edited by Ian Nairn, released later as a book – and Gazzard's exhibition shared Nairn's concern with what he called the "disfigured landscape" created by postwar urbanisation.¹⁰

Gazzard's international sources were overt and acknowledged (Atchison, 2013). But it is equally clear that the environmental protection discourse of the National Trust in the early 1960s deeply informed Gazzard's position and that it was something of a launching pad for his critique. In the text of the 1966 book that followed the Outrage exhibition, Gazzard quotes extensively from a 1964 National Trust *Bulletin*. The piece he quotes carried the heading "Preservation of Bush and Shore" and the author argues that the public must be more responsible for the destructive actions of their local authorities. The author of the Trust *Bulletin* piece warns that if a person wishes to drive all the way to sites of natural beauty "instead of his beauty spot he will probably find a car park not unlike the one at his nearest regional shopping centre."¹¹ Gazzard shared the Trust's concern with the intergenerational benefits that would be derived from the proper protection of such places and understood implicitly how the protection of "parks and bushland, beaches, headland and waterways" (p29) was connected to the wider effort to protect and foster place identity through the

conservation of buildings. He invoked the idea of custodianship of place and concluded that “If we let progress take its toll, we not only lose part of our visual inheritance, we somehow put a low value on man himself.” (p29) In other words, for Gazzard, fostering strong connections to place and a clear sense of the development of place over time had a profoundly humanistic justification. People, he believed, would ultimately be dissatisfied by material abundance and growing technical capacity if their society did not foster this broad environmental and temporal awareness.

It is no coincidence that Gazzard’s architectural practice in the 1960s has been strongly identified with the so-called Sydney school of architecture (Taylor, 1972). The best-known Sydney School buildings, Ken Woolley’s House, Mosman (1962) and the Johnson House, Chatswood (1963) emphasise the integration of building and landscape. Gazzard’s own Wentworth Memorial Church, Vaucluse (1965) is likewise a self-effacing building referring to vernacular precedents and establishing a strong relationship to its site. The operative ethic in this self-conscious Sydney regionalism was connected to the protection and enhancement of clear markers of place. Distinctive views, the preservation of bushland and topographical character were all vital to this architectural project. Sydney school architecture was therefore coherent with and supportive of the place protection efforts championed by the National Trust and Gazzard’s work as both designer and activist made this explicit.

The efforts of Sydney School architects and National Trust advocates to strengthen place identity in the Sydney region were supported by heritage legislation in NSW after 1977. Around the same time, the burgeoning landscape architecture profession undertook a series of large-scale landscape reclamation and restoration projects in places that had been degraded by industrial activities (Saniga, 2012). Such efforts to recognise and renew landscape elements in the Sydney region built upon the early traditions of Trust activism, traditions that acknowledged the landscape as a powerful source of cultural meaning as well as an important source of ecosystem services. The value placed on the visual quality of the harbour landscape in particular has also periodically been the source of significant controversy in Sydney. The development of the Sydney Harbour Bridge (1924-32) was heavily contested for its impact on the city’s scenic landscape as was the development Harry Seidler’s Blues Point Tower (1962). But rarely has the sense of how best to balance the protection and improvement of the harbour landscape been as contested as in recent years.

Barangaroo: “a new natural headland”

The vast Barangaroo project, on the site of the old wharf facilities at Miller’s Point, has challenged the apparent mutuality of landscape protection/restoration and heritage conservation in Sydney. The project is a mixture of generic high-rise commercial and residential development (South Barangaroo); a gambling palace that will make the Rooty Hill RSL blush (Central Barangaroo); and a landscape restoration project that is described by the Barangaroo Delivery Authority as a “new natural headland” at the north end of the site (Barangaroo Authority). Underneath the newly landscaped area – described as a “fattened version of the 1836 foreshore” (Butterpaper, 2011) – is to be a car park and a cultural centre of some kind. While it remains vague, the idea is that the cultural centre will be a place to interpret the history of early contact between settler society and Aboriginal people in the region. The trade-off, therefore, that has publicly justified the real estate deal is the establishment of a newly created piece of harbour landscape with a natural profile and the establishment of a prominent new site through which to promote reconciliation and a richer

understanding of Australia's history. Certainly these are the themes that the designer of the headland park, Peter Walker, has emphasised in his comments about the site. But questions remain about what heritage will be preserved, how and in whose interest.

In a keynote address to the 2006 Urban History Planning History meeting, several months before the Barangaroo project was announced, historian Graeme Davison introduced his discussion of the Australian city by describing the view from his room in the Palisade Hotel at Miller's Point, perched above what would become the Barangaroo site. "Nowhere in Sydney, perhaps nowhere in Australia" he remarked, "is the deposit of historical memory as deep as it is on Miller's Point" (Davison, 2006). What was most striking about the view, Davison suggested, was not the geography of the sublime harbour itself, but the incredible richness of the temporal layers visible in the landscape. Despite the relative brevity of Sydney's settlement history, Davison suggested that the landscape he observed had experienced as much change as some ancient cities. But Davison was also worried by some of what he observed. In the new millennium Sydney had become too enamoured of its status as a global city and in the process tried too hard to suppress the cultural and historical characteristics that have shaped its social and physical identity, characteristics so visibly evident from Miller's Point.

The Barangaroo project seems to fit squarely into Davison's historical schema in which Sydney has somehow lost sight of its distinctive historical qualities. In 2010 as the project took shape, the former NSW state Premier Kristina Keneally repeatedly asserted that Barangaroo would be all about positioning Sydney as a global city (Keneally, 2010). The large stock of office space and residential apartments included in the plans is explicitly directed at providing space to accommodate the growth of the financial sector and its workers. This much has been acknowledged and lauded by former Federal workplace relations Minister Bill Shorten (Saluszinsky, 2011). In this sense Barangaroo appears to disregard and perhaps displace aspects of the city's historical and cultural identity in favour of capital accumulation and deracinated and globalised flows of people.

Local residents in Miller's Point have strongly opposed Barangaroo on these grounds. They fear that Barangaroo is being used as a catalyst to gentrify their area, a process that many believe threatens their security of tenure in their department of housing controlled homes (Barlass, 2013). The corollary, they believe, of this pending attack on public housing in the area is the fraying of the community fabric in Miller's Point, with its preponderance of working class residents with connections to the wharf labouring traditions of the area. In the windows and on the doors of many of the area's early twentieth century terrace houses are yellow ribbons and yellow posters that proclaim 'Save our Community' and 'Save our Houses'.

The National Trust (NSW) has not embraced the Barangaroo project either. Indeed they have probably been its most prominent critic. But the nature of the criticisms the Trust has levelled are different to those of Miller's Point residents. Trust representatives have described the proposed naturalistic headland as "false" (ABC, 2010) and argued that the project "disregards the area's maritime history" (National Trust, 2010). The Trust has created its own alternative proposals that emphasise the protection of the industrial fabric of the area and suggested that an international passenger terminal be located at the site to animate activity in the area and maintain the area's connections to shipping.

Despite the widespread opposition to Barangaroo, which is articulated by reference to heritage, both in terms of local community and physical fabric, the issues are not quite as clear cut as they may seem. The landscape reconstruction/restoration scheme proposed for the northern end of the site sits squarely within the traditions of place protection and restoration that have been central to the heritage effort in Sydney since the late nineteenth century. It is about ameliorating environmental damage, damage that notably affected the scenic profile of the harbour environment. This is exactly what happened at Ball's Head in the 1930s, and at Kelly's Bush in Hunter's Hill in the 1970s – the battle that initiated the storied Green Bans.

Jack Munday, who led the NSW BLF Green Bans in the 1970s has recently given his support to the Miller's Pointy community campaign. He has invoked the Rocks and Dawes Point campaigns of the 1970s as precedents for opposing Barangaroo. But there is little or no evidence that resident populations and the communities they formed were ultimately assisted by those place protection campaigns. What was protected were aspects of the scenic profile and historic texture of the areas as well as a certain amount of open space. So it is reasonable to ask whether the public interest campaigns spearheaded by Munday in the 1970s are truly relevant to the aims of the Miller's Point residents with respect to Barangaroo today?

The point then is not to endorse or absolve the Barangaroo project either as urban strategy or in its particulars as design and landscape reconstruction. The point rather is to question what it is we are trying to achieve when we protect places under the banner of heritage. The eventual use and meaning of the Barangaroo site raises some interesting questions about how the past is recognised and understood in the urban environment.

A much earlier waterfront renewal project, the clearance of the Mississippi riverfront in St. Louis to make way for the St. Louis Gateway Arch, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (1961-1966), raised some parallel questions. In the 1930s and 1940s many people asked whether it was appropriate to demolish such a large number of existing buildings, which possessed a tangible link with the past, for the purpose of creating a memorial to national history and a park. But as Daniel Bluestone (Bluestone, 2012) has remarked, it is undoubtedly true that in some cases new places, designed and constructed from scratch, can in fact better narrate and commemorate the past than authentic material remains in the form of old buildings and infrastructure (p132).

This is not a viewpoint that has enjoyed much currency with heritage conservation professionals in Australia in recent decades, nor with the Barangaroo competition winning architect Philip Thalys, whose vision for the site has largely been scrapped. The overt commitment to the 'anti-scrape' perspective of the Burra Charter has disposed heritage professionals toward maintaining fabric wherever possible. Design professionals, under the influence of high-profile recent projects such as New York's High Line have likewise seen great opportunities in the tough industrial residues of the urban environment and tended to want to work with them rather than erase them. Hence the position taken by both the architecture profession and the National Trust, and their suspicion of fakery in the landscape reconstruction project.

Former Prime Minister Paul Keating, however, who championed the landscape restoration concept for the Baranagaroo headland, has repeatedly described the 1960s container wharf facilities that extend out on reclaimed land into Sydney harbour as a piece of "industrial vandalism" with "no

heritage value” (Moore 2009). Moreover he has argued that the evocation of the pre-European landscape on this important piece of Sydney harbour represents a great opportunity to address Australia’s settlement history, one that is more important than the physical evidence of the shift to containerisation in late twentieth century shipping. He has not addressed the fate of the small residual community connected to the history of maritime work in the area.

Barangaroo has been named in honour of a Cammeraygal woman who played an important role mediating between Aboriginal people and British colonists in the Port Jackson area in the early days of settlement. It is arguable that constructing a new landscape that evokes the character of the environment in the period before and during this period of early settlement, is an appropriate way to address questions of Aboriginal dispossession and continue the cultural work of reconciliation. The lead designer for the landscape restoration project, Peter Walker, has expressed a desire to promote the significance of the site as a place of reconciliation. In a 2012 interview with the Sydney Morning Herald he explained that “Mr. Keating had educated him about its place in the area’s Aboriginal history and its connection to nearby Goat Island and surrounding headlands” (Moore, 2012). In other words, this part of the Barangaroo site might also be viewed as part of a larger landscape, one that testifies to the ongoing effort to protect and restore the harbour foreshore to a condition of natural beauty. The group of protected and recreated contours that define the harbour landscape might also become the setting for a new story of national origins.

Conclusion

The nature of the heritage enterprise in Sydney and its surrounds has been deeply marked by efforts to protect the natural landscape as a way of fostering the identity of the place and paying tribute to its early history. The pride of incipient nationalists such as Piddington in the glories of the harbour and its surrounds; the somewhat nostalgic pastoral vision of Annie Wyatt; the regionalist commitments and sense of authenticity of Donald Gazzard; and the critical revisionism of Keating each assumed that Sydney’s history and identity are embedded in its landscape. How each addressed the perennial conservation issues of renewal and restoration versus continuity and repair certainly differs, and is the subject for a separate paper. The ideological resonances of settler colonialism in each phase of these landscape protection and restoration efforts has shifted subtly and is likewise a subject deserving of its own paper. But the clear commitment to landscape protection as cultural heritage has remained fairly constant. Notwithstanding its position on the Barangaroo development, the National Trust of Australia (NSW) has been the central institution in promoting this view: a role contrary to the widely held idea that they have been mostly interested in fixing up nice old houses.

¹ A.F. Wyatt, “How the National Trust Began”, 15th September, 1956, reprinted in I.F. Wyatt *Ours in Trust: A Personal History of the National Trust of Australia (NSW)*, (Pennant Hills, NSW: Willow Bend Press, 1987) p.10

² A.F. Wyatt, “How the National Trust Began”, p.12

³ “Save the Trees – Conserve our Forests, Conference Handbook”, Correspondence 1947-1948, Wyatt Papers, The National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives

⁴ *National Trust of Australia (NSW) Bulletin*, No.2, July 1948

⁵ “Why Hyde Park Barracks Should Be Preserved” June 1947, Correspondence 1947-1948, Wyatt Papers, The National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives; and *National Trust of Australia (NSW) Bulletin*, No.1, April 1948, National Trust Bulletins 1947-1973, The National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives

⁶ “Save the Trees – Conserve our Forests, Conference Handbook”

⁷ The National Trust corresponded with each of these organisations in 1947 and 1948. Correspondence 1947-1948, Wyatt Papers, The National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives

⁸ See for example, draft list of "Places of Historic Interest in the County of Cumberland Interim Report by Committee Set up by the Cumberland County Council" Historic Buildings List, 1946-1956, Wyatt Papers, The National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives

⁹ The National Trust of Australia (NSW), *Bulletin*, August 1963 and May 1964

¹⁰ On Dunphy see Philip Goad and Anne Higham, "Dunphy, Milo" in Julie Willis and Philip Goad (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2012) pp.217-218

¹¹ National Trust, *Bulletin*, no.13, May 1964

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